

# The American Observer

*A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe*

VOLUME XIV, NUMBER 36

WASHINGTON, D. C.

JUNE 11, 1945

## Long-Range Effects of Syrian Conflict

**It Has Caused Allied Bitterness Which May Require Long Time to Eliminate**

### INCREASES ARAB WORLD SUSPICION

**All Major Powers Except China Have Important Stakes in Middle East Resources**

The bitter fighting which broke out some days ago between the French and the Arabs in the Near East has brought a series of repercussions which are still felt throughout the Allied world. It has strained relations between France and her Allies; provoked a crisis within the French government itself; forced the British to intervene with armed troops and strong diplomatic protests; and hampered the negotiations at the San Francisco Conference.

Coming hard on the heels of the dispute over Trieste, the outbreak of violence in Syria and Lebanon has discouraged those who hoped that the defeat of the Nazis would put an end to fighting outside of Asia. And to those who retain their optimism, it has emphasized most strongly that power politics is still the rule in international affairs, with economic, political, and colonial rivalries between the great powers promising to shape the course of the world's history for some time to come.

To understand why this dispute has so alarmed the rest of the world, it is necessary to know something of the strategic significance of Syria and Lebanon, the two Near Eastern states involved. Syria and Lebanon are located at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, in the area known as the Levant. This key spot on the land bridge which joins Europe, Africa, and Asia has been a crossroads of human history for thousands of years. It is traversed by ancient caravan trails as well as modern pipelines.

Including the small, semi-autonomous states of Latakia and Jebel Ed Druz, the French Levant covers an area of almost 60,000 square miles, about the size of Georgia. Lebanon is a narrow, coastal strip about 125 miles in length, with a population of roughly a million; Syria reaches inland some 300 miles and thus makes up the bulk of the area. With Latakia and Jebel Ed Druz it holds approximately two and a half million people.

Much of this country is covered with desert, inhabited by fierce nomad tribesmen. But there are also rich oases, and fertile valleys along the Euphrates River. And there are forest-covered mountains—especially in rugged Lebanon, which is famous for its cedars. The economy is pastoral and agricultural.

The prevailing language is Arabic, and the two nations belong to the Arab

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View of Damascus, Syria

## What Is a "Fact"?

By Clay Coss

When it is reported in the press and elsewhere that the Russians are outsmarting us in Germany, or that the 16 Poles arrested by the Soviets are saboteurs, or that British agents are responsible for the French-Syrian difficulties, can we believe these things? When is a report from abroad false and when is it true? What is a "fact"?

These questions pose one of the most difficult tasks confronting any citizen. A foreign reporter or news source tells us one version of an event, and another one may tell us something entirely different. I shall cite some recent examples:

A number of newspapers and magazines have been reporting that the Russians govern their area of Germany much more skillfully than we do ours. We are being outsmarted by the Russians, it is said, and the Germans, who at first were terribly afraid of the Russians, are coming to respect them more than they do us. We are told that the Germans who fled from Berlin when the Russians advanced on that city are now returning in large numbers. After reading such statements and reports as these in numerous newspapers and magazines, I came across this United Press report which indicates that Russia is not having smooth sailing in governing its area of Germany:

"Disclosing disorders, including arson and attacks on Russian soldiers in Berlin, Lord Mayor Arthur Werner of the Russian-occupied German capital broadcast tonight a program of merciless vengeance calling for the execution of 50 former Nazis, as well as those specifically guilty, for each incident. In addition, Werner said persons found to have knowledge of an intended act of disorder also will be executed unless they inform police at once."

Here is another example of conflicting reporting: Constantine Brown, prominent columnist, wrote a few days ago that Russia has been making plans to utilize the talents of "a vast number of skilled (German) technicians, particularly in the art of war and modern weapons, who can be of great assistance to an empire which has already established its hegemony over Europe and is reported to have similar aims in Asia." Mr. Brown says that Stalin intends to use the best brains of Germany, including militarists and leaders from other groups, for the benefit of Russia.

On the other hand, we are told by Senator Brewster, who has just returned from Europe, that he was informed on high authority in London and Paris that the Russians are "doing away" with German lawyers, businessmen, and all other professional groups except doctors, in order to be able to communize the German workers without internal opposition.

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## Plan to Reorganize Agencies Examined

**President Expected To Be Given Broad Powers to Streamline the Government**

### PROBLEM HAS GROWN DURING WAR

**Dozens of New Agencies, Many Overlapping, Have Been Created to Deal with Crisis**

Congress is now considering President Truman's recent request for legislation "without delay" which will provide him with the necessary power to reorganize the executive branch of the government. He asked for complete and continuing authority to consolidate existing federal agencies or to establish new ones. In requesting permanent powers along this line, he declared that the job could not be done all at once but instead must be dealt with year after year, depending on the size and the duties of the government at any particular time.

Congress is expected to give President Truman a large measure of the authority he seeks, just as it gave Roosevelt similar authority in 1939. As a matter of fact, the government agencies were reorganized to a considerable extent back at that time. But many new agencies have been established during the war, thereby creating a great deal of confusion and overlapping of services in the federal administrative set-up.

Even though President Truman will probably be given most of the power which he seeks, there is certain to be controversy over a number of points. Congress is always hesitant in giving blanket authority to any President. Thus, it is expected to put various limitations on Mr. Truman. For one thing, it will probably refuse to permit him to consolidate certain agencies, insisting that they remain independent. Moreover, there will be a conflict over granting "permanent" authority to the President; instead a time limit may be placed on his program of reorganizing the government.

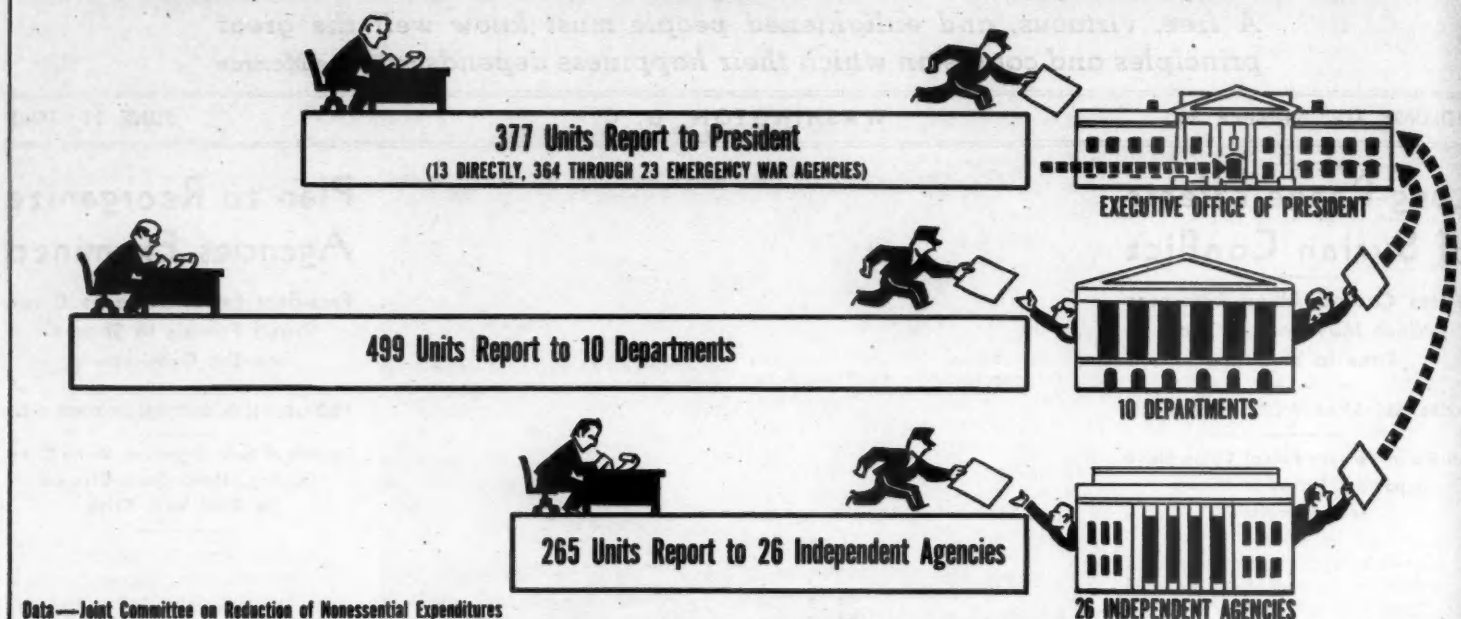
Congress, of course, has final authority in this respect. President Truman recognizes this fact. He asks that Congress allow itself 60 days to nullify any action he may take. If it does not do so at the end of that time, he requests that the particular change which he has made will be permanent.

The right of Congress to decide such matters as these is undisputed. The Constitution provides that Congress shall make the laws and also decide what kind of administrative machinery there shall be. Congress is given the power to pass upon the departments and agencies which shall be under the Chief Executive.

Every one of the 10 regular departments of the government—that is, the State, Treasury, War, Navy Departments, and so on—were created by act of Congress, and any of them could be

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## The Federal Government in 1945 is Composed of 1,141 Principal Component Parts



REPRINTED FROM THE UNITED STATES NEWS, A WEEKLY MAGAZINE ON NATIONAL AFFAIRS, PUBLISHED IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

## Government Reorganization

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abolished any day by Congress. Congress also created the independent agencies and could do away with any of them at will.

Until about half a century ago, the administrative work of the government was done entirely by the regular departments; that is, those headed by cabinet members. There were no independent agencies. When the government took on any new activity, the work was turned over to one of the existing departments. An agency or bureau would be established in a department to look after the activity.

Sometimes it happened that there was no department in which the new activity would seem to fit, and so there were a good many peculiar arrangements. For instance, when the government undertook to carry on activities to preserve the public health, it was necessary for Congress to create a bureau or agency to look after the matter. The new work did not fit into any of the regular departments, and yet it had to be put some place, so it was put into the Treasury Department. There is no good reason why the secretary of the treasury, whose main work is with money matters, should be given supervision over public health, and yet he was.

### Misfits Developed

There developed many such misfits in the government departments. In addition, a number of independent agencies were established—independent of the 10 regular departments. A great many of these were set up during the early years of the Roosevelt administration. A number of these agencies performed duties of a similar nature, and there was much overlapping among them.

Long before the Roosevelt administration, a number of Presidents had asked Congress for authority to reorganize the government agencies and departments along more efficient lines. But little or no action was taken along this line until the spring of 1939. By that time, the need had become so great that it was apparent something had to be done. President Roosevelt asked

for wide powers in this connection, and Congress granted him most of the authority for which he asked.

The first action taken by the President, under the new reorganization law, was to combine 21 agencies into three large, new departments. Most of these agencies were independent, but some of them were part of the 10 regular government departments.

### Related Agencies Combined

One of the new departments was the *Federal Security Agency*. This body brought together six former agencies—the Social Security Board, the United States Employment Service, the Public Health Service, the United States Office of Education, the Federal Security Agency, and the National Youth Administration. All these agencies had something to do with the nation's social and economic security, and thus were grouped together.

Another new department was the *Federal Works Agency*. It incorporated nearly all the bureaus concerned with public works, including the Works Progress Administration, the Public Works Administration, the Bureau of Public Roads, and the United States Housing Authority.

The third new department was the *Federal Loan Agency*. It brought together a number of agencies which were lending federal funds for recovery purposes and which later have been lending money for war enterprises. The best known of these agencies is the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. There are others which lend money for housing purposes, farming, and so on.

By grouping all these activities into three large departments, President Roosevelt put himself into a much better position to keep in touch with their activities. If, for example, he wanted to know what the various lending bureaus were doing, he did not need to see the administrators of all the bureaus. Instead, he could call in the administrator of the Federal Loan Agency, who would report on all of them. The heads of the three new departments were not officially admitted

into the President's cabinet, but they often attended.

Not only did the new plan make it easier for the President to supervise the administrative work of the government, but in many respects it led to better and more efficient work. The grouping together of a number of separate bureaus, working for the same general purposes, prevented waste and overlapping in numerous instances.

In addition to the establishment of these three large new agencies, certain changes were made in the regular departments. Some were given new responsibilities and others had certain bureaus or duties taken away from them.

There were a number of independent agencies, however, which Congress did not allow the President to merge into other departments. It insisted that they remain independent. These included the Federal Trade Commission, Interstate Commerce Commission, Securities and Exchange Commission, Civil Service Commission, and several others. The majority in Congress felt that these agencies were of such importance and of such a semi-judicial character that they should maintain their independence.

### More Reorganization Needed

It is generally agreed that the pre-war reorganization program was a long step in the right direction. The war, however, has done much to upset this program and to create a new hodge-podge of government agencies. Any number of new bureaus have been established. It must be decided which of these are to be abolished after the war and which ones are to continue and be merged into permanent departments. There is a great deal of overlapping of functions among these agencies, and it will be a hard task to remodel the whole administrative machinery along efficient lines.

President Truman, it is generally agreed, is well equipped by experience and natural ability to handle this job skillfully. In the Senate, as head of the Special Committee Investigating the National Defense Effort, he established a reputation as an honest, impartial, and able administrator. If Congress will give him the authority

for which he asks, he is expected to put the government executive machinery into smooth, efficient running order.

He may, for one thing, include the three large agencies created by President Roosevelt in 1939 as regular departments of the government. In this event, the heads of these bodies—the Federal Security Agency, the Federal Works Agency, and the Federal Loan Agency—would become official members of the President's cabinet.

It is also reported that Mr. Truman may appoint a "General Manager" of the government. This official might head a newly created department and be a cabinet member. He would be on the constant lookout for ways of increasing the efficiency of the government, both its machinery and its personnel. It would be his responsibility to make continuing studies on ways of improving the quality of work performed by the executive agencies.

The need for a General Manager of the government is clear. The government's operations have grown to vast proportions, and the President is far too occupied with matters of national and international policy to be bothered with problems of management. A special department to handle this task is indicated. Whether President Truman will deal with the problem in this way or use another approach remains to be seen.

### Schools for GI's

School is on the program for American servicemen and women remaining in Europe for the occupation or awaiting transportation back to the United States. Two Army university study centers, one central vocational school, and numerous unit schools are now being established in England and on the continent.

Teachers are being recruited from among civilian educators primarily. Courses which are scheduled to begin in August and continue for eight weeks will be patterned after those in the average American university summer session. GI's will also be offered the opportunity to attend leading foreign universities at government expense while they are in Europe.



# Directory of Government Agencies

THE following is a list of the regular executive departments and a number of government administrative agencies which figure in the news. In each case the title is given, followed by a brief description of its duties, and the name of the person directly in charge.

**Department of State;** conducts the foreign affairs of the United States; conducts government policy in dealing with most international problems; protects American interests abroad and promotes solidarity with friendly countries. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary.

**Department of the Treasury;** manages the financial affairs of the government; controls coinage and printing of money; buys federal supplies; supervises the Narcotics Bureau and the Secret Service. Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary.

**War Department;** organizes, trains, and maintains the Army of the United States; makes provision for mobilizing material and industry for wartime needs, including the development of improved weapons and supplies; protects seacoast harbors and cities; supervises Corps of Engineers which improves waterways, looks after flood control as well as some power and irrigation developments; approves plans for construction of bridges and other works on navigable waters; responsible for defense, care, maintenance, and operation of Panama Canal. Henry L. Stimson, Secretary.

**Department of Justice;** enforces federal laws; represents government in legal matters, conducting all suits in the Supreme Court in which the government is concerned; interprets laws under which other governmental agencies act; supervises federal penal institutions; furnishes legal advice and opinions upon request to heads of all executive departments and to the President. Tom C. Clark, Attorney General.

**Post Office Department;** administers the distribution of mail by land, water, and air; makes postal treaties with foreign countries, subject to the President's approval and administers the Postal Savings service. Robert E. Hannegan, Postmaster General.

**Navy Department;** organizes, trains and maintains a naval force strong enough to support national policies and commerce, and to guard the continental and overseas possessions of the United States; prepares and executes, when necessary, plans for naval war operations. James Forrestal, Secretary.

**Department of the Interior;** charged with responsibility for advancing domestic interests of the people of the United States, it is chiefly concerned with use and conservation of natural resources; varied duties include administration of territories and island possessions, Office of Indian Affairs, General Land Office, Geological Survey, Bureau of Reclamation, mining operations, Fish and Wildlife service, certain public power establishments, and other domestic services. Harold L. Ickes, Secretary.

**Department of Agriculture;** gathers and furnishes to the government and the public information on agricultural subjects; makes available products of research in fields of agriculture, soil conservation, industrial uses of farm

products, agricultural engineering and economics, marketing, production and manufacture of dairy products, nutrition, home economics; administers laws designed to assist farmer and consumer and provides services to improve farming practices and farm living conditions. Clinton P. Anderson, Secretary.

**Department of Commerce;** performs services designed to promote and aid the foreign and domestic commerce carried on by the people of the United States, including mining, manufacturing, shipping and fishing industries and the transportation facilities of the country; maintains fact-finding and statistical agencies such as the Bureau of the Census, Coast and Geodetic Survey, National Bureau of Standards, Patent Office, Weather Bureau, and National Inventors Council. Henry A. Wallace, Secretary.

**Department of Labor;** provides services designed to foster the welfare of American wage earners, improve working conditions and advance opportunities for profitable employment; looks after child welfare; provides information on all subjects pertaining to labor practices to the government and to individuals; provides mediators to maintain industrial peace; aids in developing desirable labor standards and working conditions. Lewis B. Schwellenbach, Secretary.

**Federal Loan Agency;** FLA supervises and coordinates the work of numerous government agencies which make loans, deal in strategic and critical materials, insure against war damage or otherwise engage in corporate activities; includes Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Defense Plant Corporation, Rubber Reserve Company, Metals Reserve Company, Defense Supplies Corporation, War Damage Corporation, Disaster Loan Corporation and mortgaging agencies. Fred M. Vinson, Administrator.

**Federal Security Agency;** FSA supervises and coordinates agencies which are largely concerned with promoting social and economic security, educational opportunities, and the health of the citizens of the United States; includes United States Office of Education, Public Health Service, Social Security Board, Food and Drug Administration, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation and other agencies. Paul V. McNutt, Administrator.

**Federal Works Administration;** FWA coordinates agencies of government which deal with public works not carried on by established departments, and which administer federal grants or loans to states or local governments for construction purposes; includes Public Buildings Administration, Public Roads Administration, Federal Real Estate Board, and others. Maj. Gen. Philip B. Fleming, Administrator.

**Committee on Fair Employment Practice;** FEPC promotes full use of all available manpower and attempts to eliminate unfair practices and discrimination in employment or training for war work because of an applicant's race, creed, color, or nationality. Malcolm Ross, Chairman.

**Foreign Economic Administration;** FEA handles foreign trade in conformity with policy of the United States as conducted by the State Department; when military operations

permit, controls United States government activities in liberated areas, supplying requirements and procuring materials. Leo T. Crowley, Administrator.

**National War Labor Board;** WLB responsible for stabilizing wages and salaries under \$5,000 level; adjusts labor disputes which might affect the war effort; adjusts wages and salaries to aid in prosecution of war effort. George W. Taylor, Chairman.

**Office of Inter-American Affairs;** OIAA promotes exchange of cultural information and improved commercial relations among the nations of the Western Hemisphere in order to strengthen the bonds between them and further their mutual well-being and solidarity; encourages joint action to meet war emergencies and in planning for postwar development. Wallace K. Harrison, Director.

**Office of Defense Transportation;** ODT carries out measures designed to secure the fullest possible use of domestic transportation facilities for the war effort; includes railroad, motor, inland waterway, pipeline, air transport, and coastwise and intercoastal shipping. J. M. Johnson, Director.

**Office of Economic Stabilization;** OES issues directives to government agencies to prevent inflation and increase in the cost of living; decides national economic policy relating to control of civilian purchasing power, prices, rents, wages, salaries, profits, rationing, subsidies and related matters which affect the prosecution of the war. William H. Davis, Director.

**Office Scientific Research and Development;** OSRD serves as central agency for mobilizing trained scientists and scientific knowledge to contribute to effective prosecution of the war; works with personnel and equipment of existing government agencies and with other scientific and industrial organizations to insure fullest use of scientific and medical discoveries and to encourage further research. Dr. Vannevar Bush, Director.

**Office of War Information;** OWI carries on information programs to insure intelligent understanding, at home and abroad, of the progress of the war effort and of the war policies, aims, and activities of the government. Elmer Davis, Director.

**War Manpower Commission;** WMC sets policy designed to secure most effective use of the nation's manpower for the war effort; estimates needs in all civilian fields and reviews military manpower requirements; prescribes regulations for all federal programs relating to labor recruitment, training, and placement in industry and agriculture. Paul V. McNutt, Chairman.

**War Production Board;** WPB directs procurement and production of all materials needed for the war effort; insures orderly mobilization and use of all the nation's economic resources for war. J. A. Krug, Chairman.

**War Shipping Administration;** WSA controls the operation, purchase, charter, or requisition of all vessels under American control for the duration of the war, excepting fighting ships and those under control of the Office of Defense Transportation; plans policies to insure the most effective use of the nation's shipping facilities for success-

ful prosecution of the war. Vice Admiral Emory S. Land, Administrator.

**Office of Price Administration;** OPA regulates prices and acts to prevent profiteering, hoarding, speculation, and other trade practices harmful to the war effort; administers the rationing of items of food and clothing which are scarce, and gasoline and fuel oil. Chester Bowles, Administrator.

**War Food Administration;** WFA works within the Department of Agriculture to insure the most effective production, distribution, and use of food and farm products essential to the war effort. Clinton P. Anderson, Administrator.

**Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion;** OWMR supervises activities of all government agencies concerned with procurement, production, distribution, and transportation of essential supplies and materials; coordinates these in war program while insuring adequate civilian economy; plans and orders changes to peacetime basis as quickly as military developments allow. Fred M. Vinson, Director.

**Petroleum Administrator for War;** PAW coordinates war policies and actions of government to insure adequate supplies of petroleum for military and other essential uses. Harold L. Ickes, Administrator.

**Selective Service System;** SSS classifies and drafts the manpower of the nation for service in the armed forces. Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, Director.

**National Housing Agency;** NHA determines housing needs which can be met by existing facilities and private builders, and what government must supply; coordinates all housing activities of federal government. John B. Blanford, Jr., Administrator.

**Office of Censorship;** OOC censors all mail, cable, radio and other communications passing between the United States and any foreign country; supervises voluntary censorship of domestic press and radio. Byron Price, Director.

**Civil Aeronautics Administration;** CAA promotes development of air commerce, regulates civilian and commercial flying, builds landing fields, navigation beacons, and supplies other flying aids. Theodore P. Wright, Administrator.

**Federal Communications Commission;** FCC regulates interstate and foreign commerce in communication by telephone, telegraph, and radio to insure rapid, efficient and reasonably priced service to the people. Paul A. Porter, Chairman.

**Federal Trade Commission;** FTC acts to prevent business activities harmful to the public interest. Ewin L. Davis, Chairman.

**General Accounting Office;** GAO oversees and keeps account of receipt, disbursement, and application of public funds. Lindsay C. Warren, Comptroller General of the United States.

**Securities Exchange Commission;** SEC supervises buying and selling of stocks on stock exchanges and other markets, prevents fraudulent practices in exchange of securities. Ganson Purcell, Chairman.

# The Story of the Week

## Harmful Humor

When we think of prejudice and intolerance, we usually think of something big and dramatic, like a race riot or lynching. They are easy to recognize and condemn. But the attitudes behind them may take more subtle forms—forms which make them seem so harmless that even the person who heartily endorses tolerance as an ideal may fall into biased ways of thinking.

Certain types of humor, for example, may foster race prejudice. Those who are responsible for such humor may not have any intention of offending any group of the population, and yet the effect is the same as though they did so consciously.

After making a survey of *Reader's Digest* jokes, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People accuses that magazine of belittling the members of its race. Analyzing 35 Negro jokes which appeared between January, 1942, and May, 1944, the NAACP claims that a large majority portrayed the Negro as stupid, ignorant, and immoral.

This is how the jokes are broken down by the sponsors of this survey: Thirty-four were in dialect, thus representing the Negro as uneducated and ridiculous. Eight made fun of ignorance among Negroes, five implied that they had low moral standards, and four that they were irresponsible. Of the jokes analyzed, only seven included some reference which might interpret Negroes as intelligent, respectable citizens.

## China's New Premier

Chiang Kai-shek's recent resignation as Premier of China is viewed by many as a portent of better relations between the Chungking government and the Communist forces. The man whom Chiang picked to take over in this post is his brother-in-law, T. V. Soong, whose relations with the Communists have always been more moderate than Chiang's.

Mr. Soong, 50 years old, is a brother of Madame Chiang and is one of the ablest and most popular leaders in China. He was educated at Columbia and Harvard Universities and therefore is well acquainted with American ways. For many years he was Chinese Minister of Finance, and he still re-



Happy Czech soldiers singing songs of freedom

tains the post of Foreign Minister in addition to his new duties.

This change of course does not mean that Chiang is withdrawing as China's top leader. He retains numerous posts and he is still President of China as well as generalissimo of China's armies.

Chiang's action is also interpreted as a sign of his intention to devote his energies primarily to the campaign against the Japanese. It comes at a time when Japan's fortunes are shifting on the continent, and when Japanese troops are turning from the offensive to the defensive. The Japanese southern empire, protected by an estimated half million men, is almost cut off and is virtually lost from a military standpoint. Japanese troops in South China, fearing the same fate, are retreating northward and it may be that they will regroup for a better defense behind such natural barriers as the Yangtze River.

## The JA's Make Good

Americans who continue to show an unreasoning hatred toward their fellow Americans of Japanese ancestry should consider the loyalty and patriotism exhibited by these Japanese-Americans (the JA's) in the United States armed forces. There are now more than 17,000 JA's in all branches

of the Army and attached to the Navy and the Marines. They did outstanding work in the Italian campaign, and today a large number of them are distinguishing themselves in the China-Burma-India theater and on every Pacific front from Saipan to Okinawa.

The outstanding example of the performance of the JA's is the 100th Infantry Battalion, which is made up almost entirely of Japanese-Americans. It spearheaded the Fifth Army after the famous Salerno landing and fought on almost every Italian front, including Anzio, Cassino, and the crossing of the Volturno and Rapido Rivers. Today it is the most decorated unit in the history of the United States Army!

The 1,300 members of the 100th boast more than 1,000 Purple Hearts, 44 Silver Stars, 31 Bronze Stars, nine Distinguished Service Crosses, three Legion of Merit medals, and two Presidential Unit Citations. During the three years since this battalion was created there has not been a single case of desertion or AWOL. In another JA outfit, the 442nd Infantry Combat Team, more than 90 per cent of the men have won Combat Infantry Badges for exemplary conduct under direct enemy fire, and heroic individual exploits are numerous.

In the Pacific War, Japanese-Americans are particularly valuable because of their knowledge of the Japanese language. Their danger in this theater is especially great because they are usually out in front where they face the usual hazards of battle, and in addition they run the constant risk of being mistaken for an enemy and shot from behind.

## Military Training

Last week a special House committee on Postwar Military Policy opened hearings on legislation for compulsory military training for American youth after the war. As Congress began its work on this important subject it was not yet known what President Truman's attitude would be, but he had stated a few days earlier that he was not in complete agreement either with Congress or the armed forces on the matter.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that compulsory military training will be the rule in most foreign countries

in the future. The French Minister of War announced only a few days ago that France intends to continue such training in order to maintain her position alongside the other Allies. He offered as further reasons the need for trained troops to occupy Germany and to reconquer the French colonial possessions in Asia.

For her part, Russia is planning the biggest peace-time military training program ever undertaken in the Soviet Union. Last week large numbers of 15- and 16-year-old boys were being called up for training even though Russia is now at peace. General Pronin, chief of the Russian Defense Commissariat, announced that Russian training would be "on an even higher level" than during the war. "The peaceful period into which our country has entered," said General Pronin, "should not lessen our attention to the problems of defense."

## Spectre of Unemployment

The disastrous problems of unemployment, which have not plagued this nation since Pearl Harbor, are rapidly coming into being again. Cancellations of war contracts, cutbacks of production, and closing of factories have so far not been great, but developments in this direction are gaining speed every day.

Statistically, the picture may be sketched very quickly. Today there are something like 51,000,000 persons in the national work force, including 11,000,000 in the armed forces. Nine million of these are in war plants.



R. J. Wyso, a Cleveland steel president and former president of the Republic Steel Corporation, has been chosen by the Allied Control Council to supervise metallurgical operations in Germany and to see that the Reich's steel mills are controlled, dismantled or moved out of Germany.

During the next 12 months the Army will demobilize probably 2,000,000 men, and an estimated 4,500,000 workers will be thrown out of their jobs. Expanded civilian industries are not expected to absorb nearly all these people in the course of the year.

Preparations to meet this reconversion problem are quite inadequate, in the opinion of most Washington observers, and much concern is expressed over the hardships which many people will face during the readjustment period. This week, however, Congress has before it the emergency unemployment plan recommended a few days ago by President Truman, which is designed to aid unemployed workers while proposals for a broadened



This American woman is a Filipino guerilla leader, and is still active against the Japanese forces remaining on the islands.



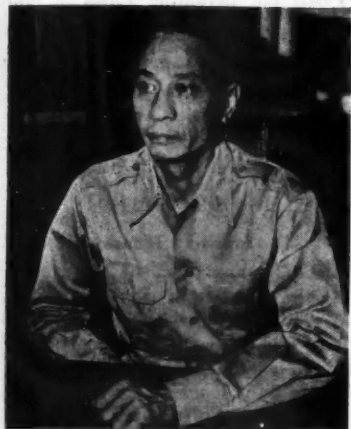
Social Security program have been presented to the House and Senate.

The Truman plan would raise unemployment benefits to at least \$25 a week for a worker with dependents, increase the period of payment to 26 weeks within a single year, and extend the coverage to federal employees and maritime workers who are not protected by present unemployment insurance provisions. The federal government would provide the money for the last two groups of workers.

State unemployment insurance plans now in effect provide only about \$15 to \$18 a week for jobless benefits, and in many states the payments continue for less than four months.

## Italian Aftermath

As had been expected, the liberation of northern Italy brought added confusion to an already unquiet political



General Manuel Roxas, who stayed with his people during the Japanese occupation, is so popular among his countrymen that many observers believe he will be elected president of the First Philippine Republic.

scene. As factions and parties scrambled for power in the important industrial cities, there were new demands for cabinet changes, elections, and social reform. Meanwhile, local resistance groups came into sharp conflict with military government authorities.

Most of the country's chief political problems remain. Although all the six parties dominating Italian politics are agreed that a change in the cabinet of Premier Ivanoe Bonomi is desirable, they have been unable to agree on a new cabinet. The three left-wing parties—Socialists, Communists, and Actionists—favor Socialist leader Pietro Nenni for the premiership, both both the AMG and the more conservative parties oppose him. Foreign Minister Alcide de Gaspari is a favored candidate of the Christian Democrats. Other groups want Count Carlo Sforza. No single candidate can muster the support necessary to form a government.

Elections are blocked by similar difficulties. The three leftist parties want a constituent assembly in which the party polling the largest number of votes will receive 60 per cent of the seats, whether or not it receives a majority of votes. The other groups want an arrangement more favorable to them. And the country is hopelessly split on the question of the monarchy, with some favoring a referendum vote, others advocating postponement of the issue, and still others urging that the monarchy be kept without the people's

sanction. Until these questions are decided, Italy can make no progress toward democratic independence.

## Televised Sports

A little more than two weeks ago, hospitalized servicemen in the New York City area watched a baseball game—the Memorial Day double-header between the New York Yankees and the Detroit Tigers. Television made it possible for them to do so without leaving their beds.

The Memorial Day telecast was the first of a series planned by the National Broadcasting Company's television station WNBT. The Yankee baseball club and station WNBT are cooperating in bringing ball games before a television audience once a week whenever the Yankees are in town. Two cameras are used in the telecasts, both perched in a box between first base and home plate.

## Inside Argentina

When the government of General Edelmiro Farrell signed the Act of Chapultepec, it looked as though Argentina might be ready to step out of her role as the problem child of the Americas and become a fully cooperative ally of the United Nations. But insofar as signing the Act committed Argentina to democratic policies at home, it appears that Farrell's government is not living up to its promises.

Recent reports from Buenos Aires indicate that the government, fearful of a popular uprising, has been sponsoring a reign of terror in which the press is rigidly censored, citizens suspected of opposition to the government are hounded by secret police, and the Army is mobilized to prevent by force any attempt to overthrow Farrell and his supporters.

To camouflage these essentially fascist measures, the government has issued a new law governing political parties. This law apparently paves the way for a free election in Argentina, but, since the old ban on political activity has not been lifted, it actually means nothing. It has been estimated that from 80 to 90 per cent of the Argentine people oppose the government and it is clear that Farrell is determined to prevent them from expressing their sentiments at the polls.

## Meat and Sugar

The Office of Price Administration has announced a new program, to begin operation on June 17, which is de-



Foreign wives and babies of American fighting men see their newly adopted country for the first time

signed to bring about a more equitable distribution of meat supplies earmarked for civilian consumption. It has also been decided that, beginning July 1 and lasting for three months, all overseas meat supplies, except those for the armed forces, will be restricted to a mere "trickle."

The plan for a better distribution of meat at home is expected to bring more tangible returns than the reduction of foreign shipments. The halting of lend-lease and relief exports will increase homefront supplies by less than five per cent. If this amount of meat were divided equally, it would come to about two and one-half pounds per person for the three months.

The OPA distribution plan attacks the meat shortage on a different basis. It hits at maldistribution by directing all commercial slaughterers to distribute their supplies of meat along the same lines they did in the first quarter of 1944. In brief, this means that each area of the nation should soon receive supplies of meat in the same proportion to the total supply that it was getting early last year.

Another food product—sugar—has been put on the shortage list. After announcing that the sugar which can be bought with the currently valid ration stamp must last until September 1, OPA gave reasons for the decrease in sugar supplies. The world crop is smaller this year because of strikes, hurricanes, and drought, while world needs are greater, due to the necessity of feeding liberated peoples of Europe and Asia. Also the illegal use last

spring and summer of canning sugar for non-canning purposes has "literally robbed our country of a substantial part of our limited sugar supply."

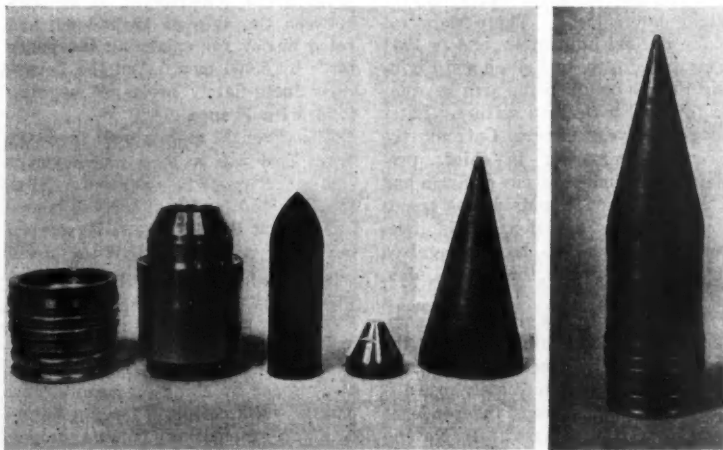
To correct the latter, OPA will insist that each applicant for canning sugar must pledge that it will be used for canning only. Each person who is allotted extra sugar will report to his local ration board, stating the amounts of food canned and the sugar used.

## NEWS QUIZ

1. What are the causes lying behind the dispute between France and the Levantine states of Syria and Lebanon?
2. What is the present political status of Syria and Lebanon?
3. What role is the Arab League playing in this dispute?
4. How would the Big Power veto work in the case of the Franco-Levantine trouble?
5. How does it happen that British troops are present in Syria and Lebanon?
6. In what respect is Lebanon unique among Asiatic nations?
7. What authority is President Truman seeking from Congress pertaining to government reorganization?
8. When did the late President Roosevelt take steps to reorganize the federal agencies and departments, and how far did he go in that direction?
9. Why has the war added to the complexity of this whole problem?
10. What are some of the steps which President Truman may take in the direction of streamlining the administrative branch of the government?
11. What grants of authority sought by Truman may be denied him by Congress?
12. How has the late Senator George Norris recently come into the news?
13. Briefly describe the powerful role which Harry Hopkins has played in American life during the last decade.
14. What may we expect in the matter of meat and sugar supplies in the coming months?

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This is a "breakdown" of the new anti-tank projectile which is proving to be a deadly Allied weapon



An Arab leader speaking at a mass street meeting in Damascus.



Syria and Lebanon are part of the general region in the Middle East which is known as the Levant.

## Conflict in the Middle East

(Concluded from page 1)

Federation. Above the flat-topped roofs of Levantine cities rise the mosques and minarets of Islam, for religion in this part of the world is largely Moslem. Thus there are religious as well as language and racial bonds that draw the French Levant into close cooperation with the other Arab nations. Little Lebanon is unique in that half or more of the people are Christians; it is the only predominantly Christian state of Asia.

For centuries before the First World War the territory which now forms the republics of Syria and Lebanon belonged to the Turkish Empire. But France has had religious, educational, and commercial ties there dating back as far as the Crusades. In the days when France was competing with England for an empire in India, Syria was considered a stepping-stone on the way. During the 19th Century race for colonies both Napoleon I and Napoleon III cast covetous eyes at Syria.

In 1860 a mysterious religious sect known as the Druses massacred a number of Lebanese Christians; French troops intervened to restore order. Then France persuaded Turkey to grant to the Levantine states a considerable degree of self-government, and began a cultural penetration into the area by establishing schools and religious institutions.

### French Mandate

During World War I the Arabs of Syria and Lebanon helped the British drive the Turks out of southern Syria and hoped, in return, to receive their independence. But the League of Nations put the two states under French control as a mandate, giving to Britain control of the neighboring states of Palestine, Trans-Jordan, and Iraq.

For the quarter of a century since that time the French have had continual trouble with their Near Eastern mandate. At first they used repressive measures. In 1925 a native revolt drove the French governor, General Sarrail, out of Damascus. He retaliated by having the city shelled, with great loss of life and property.

The natives have long memories

about such things, and they have never forgiven France. Moreover, the incident caused the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations to issue a strong condemnation of the way France was administering the Near East mandate. But the very next year a bloody war again broke out between the French and the fanatic Druse tribesmen, and again Damascus was bombarded by French guns.

After harsh measures failed in Syria and Lebanon, the French tried conciliation. When the British gave up their mandate in neighboring Iraq, and recognized that country as independent, Syrian and Lebanese independence demands were stimulated. In 1936, in answer to these demands for sovereignty, the Popular Front government of Leon Blum in France signed treaties of friendship and alliance with both Syria and Lebanon, looking forward to complete independence of the states at the end of three years. However, the French parliament refused to ratify the treaties, and another grievance was added to the score.

After World War II came and France was defeated, the French administrators in Syria stuck by the Vichy government. There were rumors of Nazi infiltration, and in 1941 a combined force of British and Fighting French occupied the area in order to forestall a German seizure. Later that same year General Catroux, the French commander-in-chief, proclaimed the independence of Syria and Lebanon, although maintaining troops for the war's duration. This independence status has been recognized by the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain.

Unfortunately, the granting of nominal independence did not end the trouble between France and her former mandate. There immediately rose disputes as to the degree of independence which had been granted. In November of 1943 a crisis arose when General de Gaulle's representative in the Levant imprisoned the members of the Lebanon government, causing disturbances.

In recent months negotiations have

been under way between the French and the two Levantine governments—the Syrian and Lebanon—regarding a new treaty of alliance and friendship. The Syrians and Lebanese, for their part, want the treaty to confirm their independence and provide for the removal of French armed forces, which now are a constant irritant to Levantine pride. The French, on the other hand, are seeking certain major concessions: (1) military privileges, involving the use of air fields and naval bases; (2) economic privileges, including preferential tariff treatment; and (3) cultural advantages, such as the guarantee that French will continue to be a compulsory school language. The Levantines have not taken kindly to these demands.

### Outbreak of Violence

The present trouble began last month when the French cruiser *Jeanne d'Arc* put in at the harbor of Beirut, the Lebanese capital, and unloaded 500 French troops. Immediately there were reactions: riots, demonstrations, and strikes swept Beirut and the Syrian cities of Damascus, Aleppo, Homs, and Hama. The Syrian parliament ordered the conscription of all men between the ages of 18 and 60, and voted money for enlarging the police force by 5,000 men. And the Levantines immediately broke off negotiations with France.

The French maintained that the Near East was to be a redeployment center for troops being transferred to the Far East, and that the 500 troops unloaded at Beirut were to be shipped on. They pointed out that the Mosul pipe line brings oil for the Allies through the Levant to Tripoli and that it needs protection.

The de Gaulle government, moreover, denounced the two Near Eastern nations for breaking off negotiations and accused certain "foreign interests" of fomenting trouble among Arab nationalists while France was in a weakened condition. There were dark hints that the British were involved; whether this is true or not the British do have an important imperial stake in anything that affects

Britain's position in the Middle East or the Mediterranean.

But the Levantines charged that the French were using military force to intimidate their former subjects into giving up part of their sovereignty. Fighting spread and grew more bloody; Damascus felt the weight of French artillery and bombs. Peace came only when the British government, with the approval of President Truman, intervened and peremptorily ordered the French to cease hostilities in order not to jeopardize communications with the Far East.

Observers see several important international implications in this struggle. For one thing, it marks the emergence of the Arab Federation as a potent political force. This league, which was formed only last March by Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, and Yemen, has gone on record as standing fully behind the Levantine states in protecting their independence. The League is meeting this month to consider more fully what action it will take in this case. No European diplomat can view with equanimity this welding into a single political bloc of 33,000,000 people and a million and a half square miles in one of the most important parts of the world.

### Sensitive France

For another thing, the Levantine dispute brings into sharp relief the sensitivity France feels about her role as a world power. As Raymond Swing points out in the current *Atlantic*, France is no longer a major power—and no amount of wishing can change the fact. Yet many Frenchmen—and especially General de Gaulle—feel that the other Allies are trying to deprive France of her rightful place, and they are revealing a determination to maintain French prestige by force if necessary. Observers see this attitude in the aggressive measures France is taking to secure the Val d'Aosta area from Italy, in the violent suppression with bombing planes of a native revolt in Algeria last month, and in the touchy stubbornness of the de Gaulle regime regarding the Levant crisis.

It should be noted that Foreign Minister Bidault is not in agreement with de Gaulle on the way the Syrian situation has been handled. He has threatened to resign in indignation because the good work he did at San Francisco in building good will for France has been nullified by de Gaulle's action.

Finally, the Levant dispute is significant in providing a sort of "test case" to show how the world security organization would work if it were now in operation. Since Syria and Lebanon are members of the United Nations, they would of course protest to the security council about the French action. According to the provisions of the charter as this paper goes to press, the council could then discuss the matter and condemn France if it found her to be an aggressor. But that is as far as the council could go.

The veto privilege which France would enjoy as one of the Big Five would enable her to prevent the council from taking any action in the case. The council could not even investigate Syria if France objected.

Those who oppose the idea of the Big Five veto have pointed to the case of Syria and Lebanon as an argument in favor of their contention that no member of the council should be able to prevent peaceful measures to settle any dispute.



# Russia Repairs Vast War Destruction

THE wartime destruction of Soviet Russia brought virtual obliteration of what, before 1941, was the heart of industrial Russia. From Leningrad south to the Black Sea, the Nazis laid waste numbers of leading cities. Many were battlefields twice, first during the German invasion, and later when the Red Army rolled westward to drive the enemy back into his homeland in utter defeat.

Not all the damage to industrial installations resulted from military campaigns. The Nazis shrewdly devised and ruthlessly executed plans for demolishing Soviet industry. Captured German orders revealed that Nazi army officers were told to evacuate not only their men and material, but any Russian equipment which could be moved. To take care of coal mines, ore deposits, and heavy, bulky machinery which could not be carted back to Germany, the orders provided that "whatever cannot be evacuated is to be demolished."

That these orders were thoroughly carried out can be seen in the broad area of destruction left in the wake of the German retreat. In the manufacturing cities of the Donetz basin, along the Dnieper River, and on the Sea of Azov only one-third of the buildings have been left standing. Cities like Minsk and Kharkov, Stalingrad and Kiev, Krivoi Rog and Voroshilovgrad were leveled. Mariupol, largest iron and steel center in European Russia before the war, was destroyed.

Industrial equipment in these mining and manufacturing centers were, of course, important targets for German demolition. Mine shafts were blasted and the pits were flooded. Blast furnaces and open hearths were blown up. Power stations and all their equipment were dynamited beyond repair.

In spite of comprehensive destruction throughout the area which had been the leading industrial section, the Russians report that last year's volume of heavy manufactures exceeded the pre-war level of production! The Soviet Union has been able to sustain damage on a scale which is impossible for us to imagine, and yet increase industrial production while the war still raged.

Russia's ability to absorb her losses amazed the Allies and the Axis alike.

It was possible for a number of reasons. Important industries were shifted from the vulnerable west to the safety of the distant east. It was not uncommon in the early days of the Nazi invasion for a factory and all its workers to be moved from the path of the German onslaught and reestablished in the Ural Mountain area or some other spot far from the western border. These transplanted factories were supplemented by new ones which were built during the war years.

Steady production during the war was also made possible by the continuation of searches started years ago for new sources of raw materials. Under the Czarist rule, nearly all Russia's coal came from one region, the Donbas. When the Soviet Union was set up, new coal fields were located and developed so that the nation was not entirely dependent for coal on one region. This has been continued, for recent Russian figures reveal that 200 new coal mines have been developed since the German invasion.

The flow of American lend-lease supplies also helped the Russians to maintain a high volume of wartime production. In addition to food and finished military equipment, Russia received from the United States industrial tools which enabled the Soviet Union to manufacture many war goods for herself.

Now an even more amazing feat is being accomplished—the rebuilding of Russian areas which once were battlefields. The rapidity of reconstruction may be as unbelievable to the world as were the speed of the Red Army's campaigns and the volume of Russian war production.

Rebuilding in Russia has not been a post-V-E Day development. Whenever and wherever possible, reconstruction was begun as soon as the Nazis were defeated. In Stalingrad, for example, just one year after that great city was the scene of fierce, sea-sawing battles, munitions were being manufactured; 11,000 homes had been built; schools, hospitals, as well as movies, kindergartens, and nurseries were functioning all over the city.

Russian engineers and the people themselves constitute one factor in the explanation of this progress. They are showing an extraordinary genius for using the rubble of their once



Stalingrad—before the war

thriving cities and towns in the rebuilding of their nation.

Not waiting until the war-busy factories can again turn out civilian goods, the people of many a village have made remarkable headway in rebuilding. A visitor to the Soviet Union late last year reported seeing a little town which had been flattened by the Nazis. After the German retreat, the population which remained—women, children, and old men—returned to their town to start life again. From burned and rusty nails, old lumber, and automobile parts which the Nazis had discarded, they fashioned a brick kiln, a tool shop, and a carpenter shop. With these little industries operating, they were going ahead with the reconstruction of their town, according to plans designed by the local Soviet.

The rebuilding of industrial areas is following an interesting pattern. People have returned to ruined cities, and there are building new factories. The evacuated industries now set up in the interior are not being returned to their former localities, except in a few rare cases. Thus, the plants transferred to the east and the new ones built there will continue to function while the rehabilitated facilities in the south and central west gradually reach their pre-war level of production once again.

The eastern cities which became wartime industrial boomtowns will probably continue to produce manufactured goods even after the western mines and factories are back on their feet again. Just as during wartime, the eastern industries will be fed raw materials discovered recently in that area. This plan will undoubtedly boost Russia's industrial output, and raise her standing on the list of the leading manufacturing nations of the world.

It is interesting to note that the Russians do not speak of "reconstruction" as much as they do of "construction." This is because, in cleaning away the wreckage of war, they are not necessarily reestablishing things as they were before the June day in 1941, when Hitler's legions raced across Soviet borders. Architects, city and industrial planners are drafting their blueprints. They are designing modern cities, eliminating the crowded conditions found in many pre-war Russian towns and cities. On

the ruins of today they are preparing to build for the future, rather than for a mere reconstruction of the past.

Pierre Cot, former French cabinet member, made a four-month inspection of Russia's rebuilding program. He was so impressed with the scope of plans and the speed with which they are being fulfilled that he expressed the belief that 15 years from now all the battle-scarred regions of the Soviet Union will be more advanced than if there had been no war.

## What Is "Fact"?

(Concluded from page 1)

It is obvious that the statements of Mr. Brown and Senator Brewster cannot both be true. The Russians can't make use of Germany's skilled groups, and at the same time destroy these groups. Which, then, of these two reports is right?

And we also have the conflicting testimony with respect to internal Russia. We have William L. White and Clare Booth Luce comparing Russia to a vast prison and concentration camp. A very much more favorable picture of that country comes from the pen of Richard Lauterback, who writes for Mrs. Luce's husband in *Time* and *Life*. Mr. Lauterback is the Moscow correspondent for these two magazines. His new book, *These Are the Russians*, provides a sharply contrasting picture to that portrayed by Mr. White in his *Report on Russia*, and to that portrayed by Mrs. Luce in the press statements she has made since her recent return from Europe.

These examples could be multiplied many times. What is one to do in the face of directly conflicting "facts," reports, and evidence? The first thing is to examine the source of each report. Then check back and see how accurate the reports from each source have proved in the past. After one has systematically followed a variety of newspapers, editorials, columns, and magazines for a considerable length of time, he learns which ones have the better records for accuracy in fact and objectivity in viewpoint.

Those individuals who follow this practice are more likely than others to withhold their judgments until the "facts" have been checked and double-checked. They are more likely to study the evidence carefully until one way or the other it is decisive beyond a reasonable doubt.



The rebuilding of Kiev



The late Senator George W. Norris

## Portrait of a Statesman

**A**LTHOUGH George W. Norris has now passed from the American scene, his 40 years in Congress have left enduring monuments to his name. As long as the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the Lame Duck Amendment, and the many other projects he fought for remain, he will be remembered as a symbol of courageous, progressive leadership.

Now, in his posthumously published autobiography, *Fighting Liberal* (New York: Macmillan, \$3.50), the life and principles behind these achievements are revealed by Norris himself. The story he has to tell is a distinctively American one, full of the homespun flavor of a pioneer background, and shot through with the democratic idealism of a man risen from the people.

It begins in the Civil War period, when Norris was growing up on an Ohio farm. Like most farm boys in the undeveloped nineteenth century midwest, he had to struggle for education and a professional career. His first interest in politics arose when he was starting out as a lawyer in Nebraska. Soon he was an ardent Republican, taking active part in the party's local contests.

Norris' first electoral victory made him a district judge. His second gave him another term on the bench, and his third brought him to the House of Representatives. Entering Congress in 1903, Norris was still an ardent Republican, believing that his party stood always in the right. But his experience in Washington soon convinced him that party politics often demand the sacrifice of the common good to immediate self-interest.

Upon this realization he built the philosophy which guided his long career as a national legislator. It was a philosophy which gave first allegiance to principle. Norris felt that neither the party program nor the wishes of his constituents should deter him from backing the kind of legislation he considered just and right and, even at the cost of alienating his party and losing votes, he acted upon that belief.

His first notable achievement in Congress was the unseating of Speaker Cannon, who, at the time Norris entered Congress, wielded dictatorial power over the House. Norris was a leader in the struggle which finally succeeded in democratizing House rules so that the Speaker could no longer control the process of lawmak-

ing for his own ends and purposes.

In the Senate, Norris continued to oppose the trend of popular thinking when it clashed with his idea of the common good. Believing the First World War to be a conflict of imperialisms in which the United States had no rightful stake, he placed himself among the "little group of wilful men," who attempted by means of a filibuster to prevent the passage of the bill authorizing the armament of American ships. Norris felt that England and France were as much to blame for the war as Germany. To him, American entry into the war meant loss of life for our young men in order to make higher profits for business.

When the Versailles Treaty came up for Senate ratification, Norris opposed it also. While he had long advocated an international federation to promote the cause of peace, he strongly objected to the League as constituted in the Treaty, feeling that it was merely an alliance of the victorious powers against such outcast nations as Germany and Russia. He was also against the Treaty's provision for harsh treatment of Germany. The final factor which decided him against it was the opportunity it gave Japan for expansion in mandated territories.

The fight for TVA, which probably ranks as Norris' most notable achievement, began soon after the last war, when the United States government was faced with the problem of disposing of its power projects at Muscle Shoals and elsewhere. Norris opposed turning them over to the wealthy power magnates who bid for them, feeling that only under government control which would integrate them in a system of publicly operated irrigation, flood control, and power projects would they serve the people's interests.

Finally, in 1933, after being approved by both houses of Congress three times and vetoed by two Presidents, the bill providing for TVA was signed by President Roosevelt. Norris, as its prime champion, had one of the chief dams named for him.

Always a fighter for the underdog, Norris devoted his energies in the 1930's to promoting rural electrification, relief for farmers reduced to poverty by low agricultural prices, and labor's rights to unionize and bargain collectively. When the second major international crisis of his lifetime arose in the present world war, he reversed his previous anti-war stand and backed American participation.

## Harry Hopkins' Role in Nation's Affairs Unique

**R**ELATIONS between Russia and the western Allies will be the chief issue of the Big Three conference scheduled for next month. On this score, President Truman, Prime Minister Churchill, and Premier Stalin will have many troublesome differences to iron out. But negotiations promise to flow more easily because of the work of one of the nation's best behind-the-scenes diplomats—Harry L. Hopkins.

Hopkins' recent trip to Moscow for preliminary talks with Stalin is typical of the kind of thing he does best. In a long career which has included both official and unofficial government posts, he has made his mark primarily as an influence—a man who is intimately acquainted with the personalities and issues on the political scene and who knows how to maneuver them in the interest of harmony.

The late President Roosevelt was, of course, the lever of Hopkins' rise to power and the focal point of all his activities after he became a national figure. Known as Roosevelt's closest friend, Harry Hopkins helped his chief make policy and then acted as a liaison man between the President and other political leaders, both national and international. He is still most important as a liaison man, serving as a link between American and foreign leaders and between President Roosevelt and his successors.

Although Hopkins' later career has been largely concerned with international affairs, it was his interest in social reform at home which first brought him to Roosevelt's attention. The two men met in the late 1920's, when Hopkins was a successful New York social worker and Roosevelt governor of the state. They became firm friends, and Roosevelt developed such respect for Hopkins' abilities that he appointed him administrator of the Federal Emergency Relief Act in 1933.

In this capacity, Hopkins became

both the inspiration and one of the chief executors of a new policy of government spending. He encouraged Roosevelt to attack the country's economic problem through large-scale public works programs which would put the unemployed to work and stimulate business activity by enlarging the volume of money people had to spend. Hopkins is credited with drawing up the initial plans for the Civil Works Administration and many other government projects of this type.

When CWA was terminated, the FERA took over the government's major relief activities and Hopkins inaugurated its rural rehabilitation program. In 1935, President Roosevelt made him head of the Works Progress Administration. As head of WPA, he was the most criticized of New Dealers. But he stuck to his job, and President Roosevelt rewarded his loyalty by appointing him Secretary of Commerce in 1938.

By 1940, however, Hopkins' health was failing and he resigned. Reluctantly accepting his resignation, Roosevelt installed him in the White House as a permanent guest and unofficial counsellor. By this time, both men were preoccupied with the war in Europe. Hopkins, who had regarded American intervention as inevitable since 1938, is believed to have prodded the President into increasing our aid to the Allies before we entered the war.

After Pearl Harbor, Hopkins figured importantly in both the national and international aspects of the war effort. In 1941, as Roosevelt's private emissary to London and Moscow, he correctly evaluated the strength of both England and Russia and persuaded the President to aid both countries.

On the home front, he worked with Admiral Leahy, Admiral King, General Marshall, and General Arnold in ascertaining our military supply needs, and in mobilizing our production machinery to meet them. Although he held official titles at this time—as head of the lend-lease program for a short period and as chairman of the Munitions Assignments Board for another—most of his work was done behind the scenes, quietly and unofficially.

He continued to play his most significant role as President Roosevelt's confidant and advisor. He was in on most of the President's deliberations on international policy, and accompanied him on most of his important trips to meet key foreign leaders. It was his experience at Yalta which made him the logical man to talk over current international questions with Premier Stalin.

During the war period, many of Harry Hopkins' old New Deal friends have accused him of forsaking his social goals. Pointing to his policy of pressing for restrictions on labor—he urged a national service act and strong anti-strike legislation—they charge him with going over to the opposition and becoming a conservative. Hopkins' answer is that the war comes first. He believes that national security is a prerequisite for social gains.

This belief is also behind his efforts to build friendly relations with Russia. He feels that peace should be our supreme goal and that our prospects of achieving it depend largely upon our ability to cooperate with the Russians.



Harry Hopkins, with his daughter Diana, when they lived at the White House.



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